1: Melville G-8 (ca. 1894-1904) 1901
FL-12 Maori FL-12

Kōhia ai wawaki whāki ngawaiho, kā mōia ahgiwa: "Ahgai!"

Tau ahgiwaki 'u-gawa kōhia awaki 'i-ngāk kāhawa 'i-kāhgawak kāwak, awāhāhg 'ug-wāk, kāka ngawa wāhgawaki ma 'i-kāghawy kāwak ing-wawaiho ngia ahi 'awawaki ka 'i-kāhgawak kāwak.

Tau ahgiwa a-kgawāyāki kāwak ng-gawa kōi, awak ka 'ug-wawa ngia ai-gaw a-kgawāyāki, ahgi a-kgawāyāki: "Kgawāk."

A warrior might, however, say "Ahgai" to his sister if she is quite young. 596

When small children or even big boys greet their elders, they do not take their hands, but they hold them with their hands, striking the old people with their forehands in the pit of the stomach.

If a woman kisses a small child, the latter touches her breast with its face. The woman then says: "Greeting."

Ka-gāyāghgawa.

Tawāwāk Mawawa 'ug-wāghiw ka-'i-Mawawa, ma 'ā' wāyāk awāyāk ng-gay ngia, tawagaw.

Gaw 'ā' wāhāy wawawgawa, wāhgi: "Ahgi kaw, wawa wāwa wāi!"

Wāhgi 'i-wagawy wag-wāhgi: "Ahgi waa, awa! Tawawawāk wag-kā! Tawgaw wāwa wawawāwa! Tagawāwawa 'i-wāwāwāk!"

Kāwāki kāka tāka wāgi: "Kāhgawāki 'u-wāki aa kāka!" Wāhgi 'i-wagawy wag-wāhgi: "Kawi."

Kāka ai-wawaki aa-gay ngia.

Departure.

If a Mawi has paid a visit to some friends, and wishes to return home, he ties up his things. 594 595

When he is ready, he says: "Well, I am about to go."

The owners of the kraal reply: "All right! Good-bye. Pray to God, sweet only the things which are safe, and most calmly but blind people."

The guest then says: "Lie down with honey-wine and milk," to which the owners of the kraal reply: "So be it."

After this the stranger is at liberty to depart to his own country.

Ka-gāyāghgawa.

Tau ahgiwaki Mawawa 'ug-wāghiw ka-'i-Mawawa, ma 'ā' wāyāk awāyāk ng-gay ngia, tawāghāg wag-wāhgi, tawagāhāg wag-wāhgi ngawa wawāghiw kāhāi-wāwa, wawa kaw a-ka-

Hospitality.

When a Mawi goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for 594

[1216] Aimoni, enoŋiŋi eŋgeji en'l-Kidoinio, eare aaee ee-e'l-gaare keyo.

Kaise ainiŋkwan, aje: "Kaise kgeŋiŋi en'l-Aimoni?" Ore gi ainoni, eŋiŋi eŋgeji naise.

Ore pe-eŋiŋi naisoitoitoi kiloŋgony eŋgeji, naio aiŋgare 'e-gimpat, ti-ee-eŋi, naisa ai-moni ainoiaee e-ŋgoriŋiai.

[1291]

Aroki tee naio ai-ŋgony eŋgeji 'ŋgoriŋiai kumok, naio aimpee, naiŋgwaki ai-moni kaee-eji naiŋiŋi naiŋge.

Kiniŋa ai-naŋgani kee'l-Kidoinio aitoiŋiki ai-moni aa-gimpata, eaee tuna, kee aiŋki ai-gaare keyo, aia.

"E-gitata", ee 'e-gejiŋi, ee kuiŋa.

[1293] [1292]

Kuyee il-Aimoni 'e-gitata naiŋiŋ; naiŋeyeyuŋkiye 'e-gitata ee-ŋiki". Kaisa 'e-gitata gitata iŋgwara eaye eaee 'l-naŋgumok.

Iŋki e-moni keyo aje:

[1556] "Eiŋgwara aa-gitaŋiŋ naise ai-iŋgiteeye e-'l-kee."

Aje, kee e-kiaa ai-kee aa-kuiŋaee, ke ilo Aimoni ego, ke ewai aai aaiee ilo kut of one of the Kidoinio ages, or he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimoni age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of them, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each one is known by name.

There is a saying which is as follows:

"One cow resembles a man's head."

They mean by this that if a man

[1264] [1178] [1171]

[1] Vide note 2, p. 272.
[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.
[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 134) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: "The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child." Koelle (*Kanuri*, p. 100) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-dómóno [1].

Nájo en-dóki najo 'l-Masaae En-dómóno.

Ten elni en-gerai, ore p' eaku en-neishori eng-arna, nyeñgi ol-kiteñg ójí Ol-le-'n-dómóno.

Neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg orok sinyati lemeata en-neibor araki en-nenyokye, nyeñgi.

Neata 'ñgoróyok in-giri enye, neata 'l-móruak ingunénye.

Ore pe eyeri 'n-giri, ore etaa en-nóóku, neinyótóto eñgoróyóni nabo aipot in-gulye, nájo: 'Ɛoto 'n-aishi, nabo; ɔoto 'n-aishi, are; ɔo en-aikuti [2] nabo; ɔo en-aikuti, are.'

Nepwónu 'ñgoróyok e-'ng-añg, ne'yakíni en-openy engerai kulle, neishori kunda naaétuo 'n-giri enye, nepwo.

Ore p' eaku teipa, nenap eñgoróyóni en-gerai, nelo alep in-giabu enapíta.

Ore p' eidip, nepwónu 'l-móruak ókuni oo menye engerai, metaa ooñgwan, neishori en-gerai eng-arna.

Ore kiteñg le-'n-dómóno na kutuk-aji éyeñgyeki, nemeitu-

The feast called the offspring. 553 574

There is a feast known to the Masai as The offspring.

When a child is born, and the time has arrived for it to be given a name, a bullock is slaughtered which is called The (bullock) of the offspring.

A black bullock, and one without a blemish or a white or brown spot on it, is selected, and slaughtered.

The meat is then divided up between the women and men [3].

When the meat has been cooked and is nearly ready, one woman stands up and calls the others. She cries out as follows: 'The honey is ready, this is for the first time; the honey is ready, this is for the second time; the meat is ready, this is for the first time; the meat is ready, this is for the second time.'

The women of the kraal then carry milk to the child's mother, and after each has been given her share of the meat, they take their departure.

In the evening the mother carries her child to the cattle kraal, and milks the cows with the child on her back.

When she has finished, three old men and the child's father (which makes four) join her, and the child is named.

The so-called offspring bullock is always slaughtered at the door of

[1] This word is now used to translate the Swahili Siku kuu, the big day or holiday.

[2] Meat cooked in a special manner.

[3] Men and women never eat their meals together.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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553 574 raari el-lughunya, epiki kutuk-aji. Nemeduñgori ol-kidoñgoi to-'l-chōni, epali etii metabana nemuta illo-shōni.

857 881 Ore ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno mēji ēyeñgi inna-kata ake p' eīni en-gerai; kake eidimi aataanyu metaa bōtor oo metaa emurati. Memurati ol-tuñgani eitu eñgasi aayeñg ol-kiteñg le-'n-dōmōno.

the hut, and the skull, instead of being thrown away, is placed by the door. The tail is not separated from the hide as is usually the case: it is left on until the hide is worn out.

Now the offspring bullock is not of necessity slaughtered when the child is born; it is permissible to wait until he is big and until he is about to be circumcised. No person is circumcised, however, until this bullock has been slaughtered.

881 E-murata.

Eisho 'l-Maasae:

Ore ol-móruo leitu ae-oloñg emurat en-gerai, nemeidim atumurata eitu epolos e-sita.

Ore en-dōki naji Em-bolos-sta e-sita, eisho ol-móruo p' eiyōu nemurat en-gerai enye naiteru, emuk en-aisho, neipot il-lewa le-'l-latya enye, neishori, eton emuka 'n-aishi.

Nepwei áitaki illo-oiyōu nemuratisho eng-añg ti-aulo, nelo aton openy te-inne, neirag inne, ne'yakīni en-daa, neton ing-oloñgi oñgwan.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi elōtu ake añg aiñguraa 'n-gíshu ti-aulo.

The circumcision.

The following is a Masai custom:

A Masai child cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called The passing of the fence.

The man who wishes to have his eldest child circumcised brews some honey-wine, and calls his neighbours together while it is being prepared.

A hut is then built for him outside the kraal, and he stays there for four days alone. He also sleeps there, and his food is taken to him.

881 892 [237] Neishopito 'n-dōkitin oo-'l-muran—ol-alem, o em-bere, o ol-kuma, o el-loñgo, o en-geranda, o e-aidai, o ol-mairutye,

During these four days he only approaches the kraal to look after his cattle when they are grazing outside.

He must don the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of a warrior—the sword, the spear, the club, and the shield, the cap made from the

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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881 Neaku ol-mŏruo eidim atumurata 'n-gera enyena, aa 'n-doiye aa 'l-ayok.

After this any of his children, whether girls or boys, may be circumcised.

E-murata oo-'l-ayok.

881 574 Ten eiyōu 'l-ayok loo-'l-Maasae nemurati, etaiyōlōito 'njere etabana en-gata enye namuratyeki, nepwo áitururo 'l-loo-'l-oshon oonyika, nerōo 'n-gíshu eng-añg o-'l-oiboni, ne'ya áii 'n-aishi.

Boys' circumcision.

When Masai boys wish to be circumcised—having previously ascertained that the time for circumcision has arrived—all those who live in neighbouring districts collect together, and, taking cattle and honey with them, go to the medicine-man's kraal.

Ore en-dōki naata 'l-ayok too-'ng-aik áitaa 'n-areta naa 'n-gusidin ake, me'ya 'remeta neme'ya 'l-alema: íl-kuman ake eremōki 'musetani naatii 'm-bolosi.

The only weapons which they may carry in their hands are sticks; they have neither spears nor swords, and their clubs are stuck into their belts.

Ore 'l-ooiñgua 'n-gwapi naalakwa, anaa Kitēto, anaa Moipo, anaa kulye-kwapi naalakwa, neibuñgaa lello 'ng-ai, kake me'ya 'm-baa, neme'ya 'mootyani.

Those who come from countries afar off, such as Kiteto or Moipo, or other distant places, may take their bows, but they must leave their arrows and quivers behind.

Ore taa p' eishori e-murata, neipak, nesirare en-duroto.

When they have received permission to hold the circumcision festival, they enjoy themselves, and paint their bodies with chalk.

[302]

Nelilita too-'ng-añgito 'l-apaitin aare araki ōkuni, nepwo e-wōji nemuratyeki aa 'ng-añgito enye, netoni too-'ng-añgito enye metabana nemurati.

They then pay visits to different kraals during the next two or three months, after which they return home, where they remain until they are circumcised [1].

Ten emurati ol-ayōni

When a Masai boy is circumcised,

[1] It is at this time that the boys of each sub-district choose one of their number to be their ol-aigwenani, that is to say, their counsellor or spokesman, who is also their judge and their representative at the chief medicine-man's court.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore ŏji 'N-gaminĭni ten ŏyeñg il-moñgi, neisho 'l-kulikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gaminini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

E-murata oo-'n-doiye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyŏuni neiyami 'n-doiye oo-'l-Maasae, nemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised.

Ore eng-oloñg namurati, nŏyeñgi ol-kerr araki ol-kiteñg, ŏji Ol-oitupukunieki, anaa too-'l-ayok.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ninjo ti-atwa aji. Naa, ten eishir, nemeata en-netiu.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out.

Mepika ninjo 'l-ŏpir anaa 'l-ayok, ol-merisian ake epika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaene* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned.

Ore ten eishiu, neiyami.

When they recover, they are married.

E-unoto.

The feast called E-unoto *or* the selection of a chief[1].

Ten eiyŏu 'l-muran nĕuni, nepwo aañgas áiñgoru Ol-aunŏni, na ol-tuñgani ŏata menye oo ñgotonye eiñgoru, neata 'n-gishu, neitu ae-oloñg ŏar ol-tuñgani, nemedanya 'ng-onyek e-menye oo ñgotonye, nemeata 'ng-onyek ṗusi[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-aunoni, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ṗe etum, nemiliki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A chief called Ol-aunŏni is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief medicine-man for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Ṗus (pl. ṗusi) means the colour of a corpse *or* blue.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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672 574 eisudorieki metebana nebau e-unoto.

Ore ten enyoru ol-oiboni, neripȧkīni ol-kila anaa ol-loo-'l-móruak oo 'surutya.

Ore etaa en-nēuni, neitauni en-giti-añg ti-aulo e-manyata naji O-singira.

Nepiki inna-kiti-añg 'n-gīshu naalepo ake.

Ore inna-oloñg nauni, neibuñgi ol-aunōni, amu ten ējōkīni: 'Ira ol-aunōni,' eitu eibuñgi, nekwet aisudori, araki ēar ol-tuñgani, pe meaku ol-[887] aunōni, amu eiba ten eaku ol-móruo, amu meitōki alo en-jore.

Ore p' eibuñgi, nepiki 'surutya, neishopōkīni ol-kila anaa ol-móruo; neidipayu engias e-inna-oloñg.

Ore tadēkenya neiñgoruni ol-kiteñg arus, neibok il-muran aaman.

Ore pe epwo 'n-gīshu shoo, neiñgoruni ol-tuñgani ōgol oibuñg ol-kiteñg e-mōuo aya, neibuñg ol-likae o-sararua.

[231] Neremi illo-kiteñg em-bidiñg, nēyeñgi te-inne.

Neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok to-'l-osingo le-'manyata, nepik e-mōuo o-'l-osōwan.

a one, they do not inform him; it is kept hidden from him until the time for the celebration of the feast arrives.

If the chief medicine-man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief like those worn by the old men, and surutya ear-rings are obtained.

Just before the feast a small kraal, called O-singira, is built a short distance from the warriors' kraal.

Only milch cows are placed in this kraal.

On the day of the feast the chief is seized, for if he were told that he is to be chosen, he would run away and hide, or kill some one. The idea of becoming an old man is distasteful to him, since he will be unable to again go to the wars.

When he has been seized, the surutya ear-rings are put on him, and he is clothed like an old man. After this the work for the day is over.

On the morrow a black bullock with a white neck and belly is sought out from the herds, and surrounded by the warriors.

When the cattle go to the grazing ground, a strong man is chosen, who holds the bullock by the horn at arm's length, whilst another one seizes it by the navel.

The bullock is stabbed in the nape of the neck [1], and skinned on the spot.

The old men then light a big fire in the centre of the warriors' kraal, and throw a buffalo horn into it.

[113] [1] All the Nilotic tribes butcher their cattle by stabbing them in the nape of the neck (Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 60).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore p' eaku en-nēă en-gima, nējōkīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pōkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

Nekwet il-muran pōkin samurutōkīno idya-mōuo.

Ore ol-oitera abaĭki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nējo: 'Aidipa.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.'

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-innaoloñg o ol-aigwenani ōtai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Nebarni ai ninje 'l-kulikaemuran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, nēyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaĭtin ooñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief.

Neishop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3].

Nepik aii 'n-gāk e-'syaĭti 'murto naaji 'mangāk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaĭti tree[4], and called Mangāk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them.

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished.

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni nalefig im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-[illegible]gani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Embolosat* and *Endungore-Engibata*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Embolosat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Endungore-Engibata*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondence.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by Fosbrooke as 16-17 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the fence" as described above. [67]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, *a*) a testing of the past moral behaviour of the candidate; *b*) the ordeal of circumcision; *c*) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [68] at the house of the candidate's mother. [69] Then the elders

[67] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reason. Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 28 records the instance of a father's orphan having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[68] Hollis, *l. c.*, p. 297, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *ol-oirupukinick* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' ranks. Fox says that a number (5, 6 or 9) of gourds of beer are offered to the elders.

[69] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The custom is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[70] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[71]

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Bagge).[72] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [491] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [574] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[70] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[71] Cfr. the election of the *Ol Ol opolos* at the *Embolosai*; of the *ol amal* boys, the *aigwenani*, and the *mejengema* at the *Endungore-Engibata*; of the *ol aunoni* at the *unoto*.

[72] [231] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Massai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Massai culture.

2: Bernardi E, N-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as " the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogor lel aijok amerate* ". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed.

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are caled *es sibolio*, pl. *i-sibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *el barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a spear, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [73] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol morani*, pl. *el moran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression " becomes a man " does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a senior initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [74] A newly circumcised (i. e. a junior, and to some extent also a senior initiate) may

[73] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 143; ELLIOT, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, n. 26, pp. 80 ss.

[74] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LEAKEY and FOX are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on
79 different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office.
[114] His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on " the
[114] incompatibility " of the *laibon* institution " with the original culture " of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [184]

561
574 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class. Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This
[626] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [185]

[184] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 47; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 480; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 183.

[185] Masai hospitality customs are best described by HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: " When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishumu* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimer* age are, and when he

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.[166] FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die ".

[166] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 289; FOX, *l. c.*, pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 11 s.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

is called an *ol amal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *englbata;* for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el morus*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*.

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 234 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [687] [777]

Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [563]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [574] [582] [563] [411] [412] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salosh* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation.

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher* of meat. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Meruturut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

561 warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of
535 Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop.
[387] They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are
[574] treated with great reverence at Masai villages en route, being fed
[262] on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many were ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured concrete-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Enkopuk!*'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to their throwing fire. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai [534] musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another, or to the *O-Singira* hut.

561 Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 40 'pure
[302] ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is
[413] removed by means of a spendidor Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Oonyo* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family [825] home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open [554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing [789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *morans* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Oonyo* from his father, is driven into the boma and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *morans* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Comer-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *morans*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *morans* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Oonyo*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 40 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Oonyo* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on [351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Oonyo*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol horfe members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os sidgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (é gonodigo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol morusk). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá ø ilfk ed giachon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol horfe members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol moran takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.

701 262 264 Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable

[273] [276] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal: a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e bull) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

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of the fight or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

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Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

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the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

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A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djóre (n djorĩn) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

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/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

701 /104 cont./
182 *a little while, will then lead them farther.* Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bãã, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
• 574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morĩni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bãgin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morĩni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'ń gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eń ai menje = who is your father, eń ai notonji = who is your mother, and kĕdja eń garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 [201] If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/111 cont./
564 luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man
326 and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality
[779] of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.
[574] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the
[701] ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-
kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of
blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other
warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/
are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often
enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the
latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-
[837] marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-
smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed
that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to
become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition
he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[792] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

/119 cont./

593 181 [186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 461 564 735 602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

574 [572] [837] 181

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562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575] [781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Bier tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.